

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

ASSESSING RUSSIAN REACTIONS TO U.S. MISSILE DEFENSE

Michael Wayne Baze-Lieutenant Commander, United States Navy

B.A., Rice University, 1989

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-September 2001

Advisor: David S. Yost, Department of National Security Affairs

Second Reader: James J. Wirtz, Department of National Security Affairs

The United States government intends to deploy strategic missile defense (MD) capabilities to address an emerging ballistic missile threat. Many opponents of MD have argued that this deployment will incite arms races. This could pose a serious threat to U.S. national security. This thesis employs arms race theory as an analytical framework to assess the potential implications of U.S. MD deployment—focusing in particular on the likelihood of arms competition with Russia. Two questions are explored. First, what drives Russian reactions to U.S. MD? Second, what are Russian capabilities to engage in arms competitions? Perceptions of U.S. unilateralism play a significant role in Russian leaders' assessments of MD. Russian concerns, however, appear to be dominated by prestige considerations and perceptions of diminishing superpower status. Although Russia possesses some ability to engage America in arms competition, its economic limitations are severe. By enhancing understanding of potential Russian reactions to U.S. This thesis identifies ways to minimize the potential for arms competition. The thesis concludes with an analysis of policy options as America moves forward with MD.

THE POLITICAL AND SECURITY IMPLICATIONS OF REGIONALISM IN RUSSIA: THE RISE OF REGIONAL TSARS?

Allison M. Hartmann-Second Lieutenant, United States Air Force

B.S., United States Air Force Academy, 2000

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-September 2001

Advisor: Mikhail Tsypkin, Department of National Security Affairs

Second Reader: Rodney Minott, Department of National Security Affairs

This thesis examines the political and security impacts of the devolution of power to Russia's regions since 1993. By reviewing the basis of Russia's federal structure the author identifies how the nature of the structure and the manner in which it evolved have led to the emergence of local tsars who have few horizontal or vertical checks on their power. The thesis analyzes the impact that strong regional leaders have had within their regions, to include their impact on free and fair elections, free press, individuals' rights, and rule of law. The author finds that the lack of checks on the regional leaders' abuses of power within the regions destabilizes the country by only further encouraging them to expand their power into realms intended to be under the control of the federal government, to include the military and foreign policy. The resultant injection of regional leadership into these matters threatens the security of Russia by inhibiting the ability of the central government to field a cohesive military force and pursue cogent foreign policy. The thesis further examines the prospects for regional tsars in light of recent efforts to rein in the regions. The author determines that these reforms, though resulting in a degree of centralization, also target some of the key problems in Russia's federation, to include the dearth of checks on regional power and the contradictions in the legal framework guiding center-periphery relations. However, further reforms targeting Russia's antiquated federal structure and enforcement mechanisms are recommended.

**INTERAGENCY MANAGEMENT OF COMPLEX CONTINGENCY OPERATIONS: THE
IMPACT OF PRESIDENTIAL DECISION DIRECTIVE 56**

Michele A. Poole-Lieutenant, United States Navy

B.S., United States Naval Academy, 1995

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-September 2001

Advisors: Nancy Roberts, Graduate School of Business and Public Policy

Karen Guttieri, Department of National Security Affairs

The central question of this thesis is: What was the impact of Presidential Decision Directive 56? The U.S. government recognized the need for a more systemized method for managing the interagency response to complex contingency operations, after their experiences in Somalia, Haiti, and Bosnia. In 1997, President Clinton signed PDD 56: *The Clinton Administration's Policy on Managing Complex Contingency Operations*.

To determine the impact of this directive, this thesis uses a pre-PDD 56 and post-PDD 56 case study comparison methodology treating PDD 56 as the intervention. U.S. participation in Bosnia from 1995 until 1996 is the pre-PDD 56 case study, and U.S. participation in Kosovo from 1998 until 1999 is the post-PDD 56 case study. The Bosnia and Kosovo case studies are compared using six variables (type, depth, and timing of planning, decision process, funding, and monitoring and modification). Subsequent improvements to PDD 56 illustrate the positive impact that PDD 56 has had on improving U.S. government civil-military unity of effort in complex contingency operations.

**THE NEXT TRANSITION IN CUBA: AN ANALYSIS BASED ON INSTITUTIONAL
COMPARISONS WITH DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONS IN CENTRAL EUROPE**

Robert M. Thweatt-Second Lieutenant, United States Air Force

B.S., United States Air Force Academy, 2000

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-September 2001

Advisor: Harold A. Trinkunas, Department of National Security Affairs

Second Reader: Thomas C. Bruneau, Center for Civil-Military Relations

Decision makers throughout the international community, including the United States, need reliable information on the characteristics of Cuba's next transition to make effective policy towards the island. This work adds to existing research by exploring what lessons can be learned about Cuba's next transition by comparing Cuba's current institutional environment to the institutional environments found in four Soviet bloc countries prior to their transitions to democracy in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Based on this institutional analysis, the study argues that a lack of internal oppositional organizations makes Cuba institutionally unready for a transition to democracy. Instead, an imposition of an authoritarian successor regime will characterize Cuba's next transition. Moreover, Cuba's eventual transition to democracy likely will occur through imposition, but as the distance in time from the departure of Fidel Castro increases, a transition towards democracy through reform or, less likely, through revolution becomes more probable. Finally, this work recommends that international decision makers tailor their policies towards Cuba in such a manner as to avoid a violent revolution on the island, to promote an independent Cuban civil society, and to seek an international consensus on Cuba's future.